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—A STATISTICAL SURVEY—

By Masanori NOZAWA* *and* Kiyofumi KAWAGUCHI**

Introduction—Problems and Viewpoints in the Analysis of the Internal Structure of the Laboring Classes

Before undertaking an analysis of the structure of the laboring classes, we will study briefly the characteristics of the rapid capital accumulation, i.e., the "high economic growth" in the Japanese capitalism after 1955 and the changes in the class structure brought about by the capital accumulation.

From 1955 to 1970, the Japanese capitalism accomplished the fastest capital accumulation and production expansion in the world. During that period, the average annual growth rate of GNP (Gross National Product) at constant prices exceeded 10 per cent and the average annual growth rate in the production indexes of industrial production also exceeded far above 10 per cent. This rapid capital accumulation was evaluated with admiration as "high economic growth" from the standpoint of the Government and of the gigantic enterprises. The reality, however, was the capital accumulation from the enormous monopoly profit gained by the small number of huge financial capital groups under the mechanism of the state monopolistic capitalism as well as the dependance on the capitalism of the U.S.A.; it was accomplished with a sacrifice of the livings of many laborers, farmers and middle or small sized entrepreneurs. In other words, supported by capital, technology and resources of the U. S.A., Japanese financial capital accomplished a rapid expansion of production and a technological innovation by concentrating the large sum of capital pumped up from the people into investment for giant enterprises through financial and monetary organizations. On the other hand, many middle or small-sized entrepreneurs and self-employed workers in manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade suffered from the difficulty in management under the control of giant enterprises. Due to the import of agricultural goods in large quantities from the U.S.A. and to the control of agriculture by giant enterprises, many farmers have been forced to become laborers giving up agriculture. The laboring classes are subject to extremely poor living con-

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Table 1. Japanese Class Structure. (In thousands of persons)

Social Class \ Year	Persons						Ratio (%)					
	1959	1962	1965	1968	1971	1974	1959	1962	1965	1968	1971	1974
Total employed persons	41,330	42,654	44,646	49,006	50,630	51,341	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
I Capitalist Classes	810	1,023	1,179	1,222	1,738	2,237	2.0	2.4	2.6	2.5	3.4	4.4
Directors of company and corporation	810	1,023	1,179	1,222	1,738	2,151	2.0	2.4	2.0	2.5	3.4	4.2
Private entrepreneurs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Government officials	—	—	—	—	—	86	—	—	—	—	—	0.2
II Self-employed class	21,141	18,607	17,830	18,478	16,975	15,231	51.2	43.6	39.9	37.7	33.5	29.7
A Farmers, loggers and fishermen	14,738	12,191	11,061	10,275	8,307	6,667	35.7	28.6	24.8	21.0	16.4	13.0
Head of self-employed households	6,154	5,290	4,965	4,503	3,977	3,453	14.9	12.4	11.1	9.2	7.9	6.7
Family workers	8,584	6,901	6,096	5,772	4,330	3,214	20.8	16.2	13.7	11.8	8.6	6.3
Farmers	14,219	11,770	10,671	9,880	7,940	6,336	34.4	27.6	23.9	20.2	15.7	12.3
Head of self-employed households	5,838	5,031	4,731	4,278	3,750	3,246	13.0	11.8	10.6	8.7	7.4	6.3
Family workers	8,381	6,739	5,940	5,602	4,190	3,090	20.3	15.8	13.3	11.4	8.3	6.0
B Self-employed in commerce and in dustry	6,403	6,416	6,769	8,203	8,668	8,564	15.5	15.0	15.2	16.7	17.1	16.7
Head of self-employed households	4,614	4,494	4,743	5,500	5,922	6,025	11.2	10.5	10.6	11.2	11.7	11.7
Without employees	3,522	3,393	3,571	3,941	4,326	4,220	8.5	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.5	8.2
With employees	1,090	1,101	1,172	1,559	1,597	1,805	2.6	2.6	2.6	3.2	3.2	3.5
Family workers	1,791	1,922	2,026	2,703	2,746	2,539	4.3	4.5	4.5	5.5	5.4	4.9
III Laboring Classes	19,357	23,023	25,637	29,306	31,914	33,951	46.8	54.0	57.4	59.8	63.0	66.1
A Productive fields	11,710	14,200	15,302	17,063	18,075	18,595	28.3	33.3	34.3	34.8	35.7	36.2
Agriculture, forestry and fishery laborers	771	698	622	557	468	631	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.1	0.9	1.2
Mining, manufacturing and transportation laborers	10,939	13,502	14,680	16,506	17,607	17,964	26.5	31.7	32.9	33.7	34.8	35.0
B Non-productive fields	7,647	8,823	10,335	12,243	13,839	15,359	18.5	20.7	23.1	25.0	27.3	29.9
Wholesale and retail trade laborers	2,620	3,260	3,904	4,836	5,504	6,026	6.3	7.6	8.7	9.9	10.9	11.7
Services industries laborers	3,163	3,381	3,875	4,752	5,397	6,007	7.7	7.9	8.7	9.7	10.7	11.7
Other industries laborers	1,864	2,182	2,556	2,655	2,938	3,326	4.5	5.1	5.7	5.4	5.8	6.5

Source: Prime minister' office, "Employment Status Survey". "Keizai", No. 136, p. 136, August 1975.

ditions because of labor intensification by technological innovation, low wages, labor accidents and deterioration of health. Thus, in the opposing pole of the gigantic wealth of the financial capital build-up by rapid capital accumulation, poverty in various forms was accumulated, and pollution in the fundamental environment for human life like that of air, water and land also proceeded to a large extent.

Such a high accumulation of the Japanese capitalism brought about big changes to the class structure. The changes in class structure in the 15 years from 1959 to 1974 are shown in Table 1.

Since 1959 the laboring classes have rapidly increased in number under the high accumulation by monopolistic capital. In 1959 laborers accounted for 46.8 per cent (19.36 million people) of the total number of the employed. In 1962 they reached a majority of 54.0 per cent (23.02 million). In 1974 they amounted to 66.1 per cent (33.95 million). The relative importance in the class structure also testifies the fact that the laboring classes, now being the major carrier of highly developed social productive force of Japan, have become a leading social power on which the success of social revolution depends.

The laboring classes include within themselves multifarious strata and groups of laborers. In the process of the high accumulation during the 1960's very striking changes were brought about to this internal structure, and we must elucidate the following important problems by analyzing the changes of the internal structure of the laboring classes in the 1960's.

The first problem is to clarify what influences have been exerted upon the conditions of the laboring classes and upon their internal structure by the high accumulation and by the various policies of the state monopolistic capitalism dependent on U.S.A. which supported the accumulation. The industrial structure policy, the general agricultural policy, the labor mobilization policy etc. in the 1960's brought about big changes to the class structure and to the class relations of our country. The characteristics and the roles of these policies can be understood concretely by studying the consequences which affected the changes in the class structure.

The second problem is to define the changes and then to point out the objective basis for the upheaval of power towards the unification of various national strata in the laboring classes and towards the class struggle. For this purpose, we must clarify how mature the objective basis has become for organizing and strengthening the unified front of various strata of the laboring classes as well as various national strata, and how the diverse claims of the various strata are being merged into a common goal. Moreover we must point out that the historical necessity lies in the formation and development of the social power to exercise economic policies which control democratically the present financial and industrial monopoly and the mechanism of the state monopolistic capitalism and which aim basically at the improvement of the people's living. At the same time, other important problems are to understand in what forms the conditions which prevent and hinder the unification of the classes are created within the various strata and groups of the labor, and to in-

dicate the direction for conquering these obstacles.

In order to approach the problems above mentioned, it is necessary to possess two view points in performing the analysis. The first is to understand the changes in the structure of the labor as a sign of further aggravation of "poverty" in the present age. The aquisition of enormous extra profits and high accumulation by the monopolistic capitalism in the 1960's meant the intensification of exploitation and the accumulation of poverty and oppression on the side of the labor. Today, poverty is aggravating in diverse forms among various national strata as well as in the labor. This has caused striking changes to the condition and the internal structure of the labor and has created various claims and formed a basis for developing the struggle. The second view point is to read a further "socialization of labor" in the changes of the structure of the labor. In the postwar period, especially in 1960's, the rapid accumulation and concentration of capital have brought about a gigantic accumulation of labor. The expansion of social productive force through the capital and the re-organization of inter-regional division of labor helped the socialization of production, of distribution and of consumption, and helped tighten regional connections. Deepening and widening of the social unification of the labor in such a large scale and in diverse forms, i.e., the advancement of "socialization of labor" ripened the conditions for developing the unity and struggle of the laboring classes and began to offer a perspective that the laboring classes could be the main force of the social management and control.

I Changes in the Industrial Structure Caused by the High Accumulation and the Laboring Classes

1. Changes in the Industrial Breakdown of the Laboring Classes

The high accumulation in the 1960's brought about big changes in the breakdown of the laboring classes under industry through re-organization of the industrial structure, i.e., scrap-and-build, or cuting-off of such fields of industry with low productivity for the capital and concentrating capital and labor into fields of higher productivity. Organizations of Japanese labor unions usually take forms of industrial federations of unions of indivisual enterprises. As is seen in spring offensives and year-end struggles, labor movement is pursued in a form of industrially united struggle of local industrial unions. So, the changes in the industrial structure of the laboring classes can not help but affect the status, the role and the ability of the struggles of the laboring classes in each industry. Therefore, as a basis to grasp the conditions of industrial organizations and of the struggles, we should first point out from Table 2 what characteristics there are in the changes of the industrial breakdown of the laboring classes.

In the postwar changes in industrial structure, the representative industry which was scrapped was the mining industry, especially the coal mining industry. In the

Table 2. Composition of Laboring Classes (Employees) by Industrial Classification. (In thousands of persons)

Year / Industry	Industrial classification symbols used in population census				1955		1960		1965		1970	
	1955	1960	1965	1970	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)
Total					17,972	100.0	23,638	100.0	28,973	100.0	33,676	100.0
I Productive fields					10,609	59.0	14,195	60.1	16,985	58.6	18,999	56.4
(1) Agriculture, forestry and fishery					961	5.3	799	3.4	616	2.1	495	1.5
① Agriculture	I	I	I	A	419	2.3	272	1.2	156	0.5	121	0.4
② Forestry	II	II	II	B	246	1.4	245	1.0	196	0.7	163	0.5
③ Fishery	III	III	III	C	296	1.6	282	1.2	264	0.9	210	0.6
(2) Mining and manufacturing					7,683	42.7	11,012	46.6	13,315	46.0	15,069	44.7
① Mining	IV	IV	IV	D	514	2.9	515	2.2	317	1.1	211	0.6
a Metal mining	6	6	6	6	72	0.4	81	0.3	54	0.2	42	0.1
b Coal mining	7	7	7	7	352	2.0	330	1.4	171	0.6	87	0.3
② Construction	V	V	V	E	1,294	7.2	2,132	9.0	2,791	9.6	3,063	9.1
③ Manufacturing	VI, 103–107	VI, (35)	VI, (35)	F, (40)	5,875	32.7	8,366	35.4	10,208	35.2	11,795	35.0
a Foods and Tobacco	(6),(7)	(6),(7)	(6),(7)	(6)	608	3.4	725	3.1	910	3.1	911	2.7
b Textile mill products	(8)	(8)	(8)	(7)	1,023	5.7	1,165	4.9	1,154	4.0	1,033	3.1
c Apparel	(9)	(9)	(9)	(8)	193	1.0	276	1.2	368	1.3	420	1.2
d Lumber and wood products	(10)	(10)	(10)	(9)	366	2.0	441	1.9	451	1.6	454	1.3
e Furniture	(11)	(11)	(11)	(10)	155	0.9	201	0.9	243	0.8	275	0.8
f Pulp and paper	(12)	(12)	(12)	(11)	176	1.0	261	1.1	311	1.1	319	0.9
g Publishing and printing	(13)	(13)	(13)	(12)	301	1.7	370	1.6	482	1.7	532	1.6
h Chemical	(14)	(14)	(14)	(13)	413	2.3	498	2.1	588	2.0	607	1.8
i Petroleum and coal products	(15)	(15)	(15)	(14)	34	0.2	40	0.2	43	0.1	54	0.2
j Rubber products	(16)	(16)	(16)	(15)	81	0.5	152	0.6	161	0.6	189	0.6
k Leather	(17)	(17)	(17)	(16)	57	0.3	64	0.3	84	0.3	78	0.2
l Stone, clay and glass	(18)	(18)	(18)	(17)	280	1.6	408	1.7	475	1.6	559	1.7
m Iron, steel and non-ferros	(19)	(19)	(19)	(18)	361	2.0	600	2.5	681	2.4	786	2.3
n Metal products	(20)	(20)	(20)	(19)	314	1.7	569	2.4	788	2.7	1,058	3.1
o Machinery and weapons	(21)	(21)	(21)	(20)	329	2.2	695	2.9	886	3.0	1,070	3.1

p Electrical machinery	(22)	(22)	(22)	(21)	301	1.7	676	2.9	902	3.1	1,366	4.1
q Transportation equipment	(23)	(23)	(23)	(22)	353	2.0	537	2.3	682	2.4	929	2.8
r Precision machine	(24)	(24)	(24)	(23)	193	0.6	169	0.7	220	0.8	265	0.8
s Miscellaneous	(25)	(25)	(25)	(24)	197	1.1	358	1.5	462	1.6	547	1.6
t Repair services	103–107	(35)	(35)	(40)	168	0.9	162	0.7	317	1.1	343	1.0
(3) Electricity, gas and water	(32)	X	X	K	229	1.3	233	1.0	265	0.9	288	0.9
① Electricity	93	110	112	130	181	1.0	161	0.7	168	0.6	174	0.5
② Gas		111	113	131			27	0.1	34	0.1	38	0.1
③ Water	94	112	114	132	49	0.3	46	0.2	64	0.2	76	0.2
(4) Transport and communication		IX	IX	J, (39)	1,733	9.6	2,150	9.1	2,788	9.6	3,148	9.3
① Transportation	(30)	(30)	(30)	(34)	1,314	7.3	1,663	7.0	2,211	7.6	2,523	7.5
a Railroads	85	101	103	122	645	3.6	587	2.5	616	2.1	586	1.7
b Highway passenger transportation	86	102	104	123	289	1.6	316	1.3	546	1.9	621	1.8
c Highway freight transportation		103	105	124			296	1.3	501	1.7	798	2.4
d Water tansportation	87	104	106	125	93	0.5	131	0.6	151	0.5	175	0.5
e Air transportation	88	105	107	126	3	0.0	8	0.0	18	0.1	29	0.1
f Warehousing	89	106	108	127	22	0.1	37	0.2	61	0.2	62	0.2
g Services incidental to transport	90	107	109	128	262	1.5	288	1.2	317	1.1	252	0.7
② Communication	(31)	(31)	(31)	(35), (39)	419	2.3	487	2.1	577	2.0	625	1.9
a Communication	91	108	110	(35)	402	2.2	452	1.9	536	1.8	577	1.7
b Broadcasting	92	109	111	(39)	18	0.1	34	0.1	41	0.1	48	0.1
II Non-productive fields					7,363	41.0	9,436	39.9	11,978	41.3	14,661	43.5
(1) Wholesale and retail trade	VII	VII	VII	G	2,483	13.8	3,678	15.6	5,052	17.4	6,289	18.7
① Wholesale trade	(26)	(26)	(26)	(25)	1,088	6.1	1,676	7.1	2,494	8.6	2,725	8.7
② Retail trade	(27)	(27)	(27)	G-(25)	1,395	7.8	2,002	8.5	2,558	8.8	3,564	10.6
(2) Finance and insurance	(28)	(28)	(28)	H	555	3.1	676	2.9	925	3.2	1,070	3.2
(3) Real estate	(29)	(29)	(29)	I	27	0.2	53	0.2	123	0.4	178	0.5
(4) Business services	102, 112	(34)	(34)	(41), 163	129	0.7	411	1.7	509	1.8	1,052	3.1
(5) Personal services (Labor maintenance)	(33), (35)	(33), (36)	(33), (36)	(37), (38)	959	5.3	1,175	5,0	1,205	4.2	1,226	3.6
① Personal services	(33)	(33)	(33)	(37)	756	4.2	925	3.9	924	3.2	915	2.7
② Amusement, recreation services	(35)	(36)	(36)	(38)	203	1.1	250	1.1	281	1.0	311	0.9

(6) Medical, other health services and social welfare	110, 117	(37), 133	(37), 135	(42), 166	460	2.6	598	2.5	804	2.8	1,173	3.5
(7) Educational services, academic institute	1, 14, 116	(38), 134	(38), 136	(43), 167	972	5.4	1,101	4.7	1,365	4.7	1,525	4.5
(8) Judicial and other professional services	111, 113	131, 136	133, 138	161, 162, 164	43	0.2	96	0.4	148	0.5	160	0.5
(9) Political associations	118	135	137	168	50	0.3	80	0.3	110	0.4	138	0.4
(10) Miscellaneous services	—	137	139	169	—	—	57	0.2	107	0.4	23	0.1
(11) Religion	115	132	134	165	131	0.7	110	0.5	94	0.3	67	0.2
(12) Government	XI	XII	XII	M	1,361	7.6	1,327	5.6	1,484	5.1	1,719	5.1
① Central government	—	139	141	171	—	—	523	2.2	561	1.9	590	1.8
② Local government	—	140	142	172	—	—	804	3.4	923	3.2	1,129	3.4
(13) Foreign government	119	138	140	170	194	1.1	75	0.3	53	0.2	40	0.1
(14) Unclassifiable	XII	XIII	XIII	N	2	0.0	8	0.0	10	0.0	16	0.0

Note: 1. Compiled from "the Population Census of Japan" of corresponding years. For 1970 the data were taken from Table 16 of "the 1970 Population Census", Vol. 2, Whole Japan (Results of Basic Tabulation).

2. Classification under "industry" is the rearrangement of the industrial classification used in the Population Census. Symbols of industrial classification of the Population Census are used for each item. All industries are classified into two basic groups, productive and non-productive fields.

postwar priority production system, coal mining industry expanded rapidly, and coal mine labor unions, with the organized member of 300,000, were the central carrier in the labor movement of the 1950's. In order to support the high accumulation, however, the Government and the monopolistic capital attempted the transfer of the energy source from coal to petroleum which was then relatively cheap and depended on the international petroleum capital of the U.S.A. for the supply. As a result, coal mines were closed one after another except some superior mines. Even in the remaining coal mines, harsh capitalistic "rationalization" and personnel reduction were enforced. The number of laborers in the coal mining industry declined severely to one fourth, i.e., from 350,000 in 1955 to 87,000 in 1970. Moreover, the closing of mines, i.e., the "rationalization", was mainly proceeded in the coal monopoly by the old financial cliques and therefore, in the size of enterprise, the ratio of middle or small coal mines increased. The membership of the coal mine labor unions organized mainly in big enterprises diminished to thirty and several thousands today, which is about one-eighth of the past days.

On the other hand, such industries like construction, manufacturing, electricity, gas and water works, and transportation and communications remarkably expanded under the high accumulation. The central figures are manufacturing industries. The laborers in the whole manufacturing industries doubled in number, that is, from 5.88 million in 1955 to 11.80 million in 1970. The ratio against the total number of laborers remained approximately on the same level, or declined a little with a peak of 35.4% in 1960. Within manufacturing industries under what we call "heavy and chemical industrialization", investment was concentrated into chemical, machinery and metal industries, and the production rapidly expanded. Seen from the labor structure machinery and metal fields for metal products, machinery, electrical machinery and transportation equipment expanded rapidly. In 1970 these four groups had 4.4 million laborers, which accounted for 13% of the total number of laborers and one-third of the number of laborers in the manufacturing industries. While in the field of industries generally called installation industries like chemical, steel, pulp and paper, ceramic and petroleum or coal products, higher productivity was attained with a relatively small number of laborers by making the size of machinery and installation larger and by accomplishing the latest "rationalization". Thus, the structural ratio of the labor decreased or remained on the same level. On the other hand, the fields related to consumer goods like textile, food, lumber and wood product, fell relaticely behind and the structural ratio of the labor dropped. Especially the field of textile had posessed the largest number of laborers in manufacturing industries until 1955, but the number declined after the peak of 1960. In 1965, number of laborers became smaller than that of machinery and metal fields. Although in the textile industry scrapping was not enforced so drastically as in the coal mining industry, its internal structure is changing due to the increase of the relative importance of chemical fibers, to the inroads of textile monopolistic capital into chem-

ical industry and to the increase of import from South Korea and South East Asia. The decrease in the number of laborers is an expression of the above process.

Construction industry is one of the fields which expanded most rapidly, and the number of laborers nearly tripled from 1.29 million in 1955 to 3.06 millon in 1970. The expansion of private investments in plant and equipment due to the high accumulation, the increase in public investments like roads, harbors and land preparation in regional developments, and the increase in the construction of housing and of public facilities accompanying the concentration of population into cities—all of these contributed to the above. Moreover, together with the advancement of the socialization of production and with the intensification of regional connections, the role of transportation and communication became important as a knotting point of production with regions. So the number of laborers employed in transportation and communication is increasing rapidly. Especially the number of laborers in automobile passenger and freight transportation has increased relatively due to the improvement of main highway networks by the monopolistic public investment as well as due to the advancement of motorization.

As a whole, the actual number of laborers in the above productive fields increased but their ratio to the total is decreasing. It is a result of intensive personnel reduction policies which were taken in order to constrict the total wage payment on the basis of capitalistic technological progress. However, the number of laborers in the productive fields continues to hold the majority in the total number of laborers. It can be said that the weight of laborers in such main fields of modern capitalism like energy, construction, manufacturing, transportation and communication has become more important as nuclei of the laboring classes who in highly socialized production processes were trained in disciplines and in organization.

Such changes of each industry in the accumulation of labor affected the degree of organization of industrial unions, their capacity in movement as a class and their role in the labor front. As is seen in Table 19, the ratio of organized laborers increased as a whole in many fields of manufacturing industries which created a gigantic accumulation of labor in the 1960's. Especially in those fields of chemical, steel, electricity, transportation and precision machine, big local industrial unions which secured a large organized membership rapidly increased their importance in the labor front. However, in most fields of private industries, relatively larger proportion of organized members who gained in number over the period of 1960 to 1972 were organized into Japan Confederation of Labor. The actual situation is that the organized members of the right wing tendency expanded to a large extent mainly in big enterprises of machinery and metal fields. It must be added that in these fields many laborers were put under the control of the leaders of the right-wing labor unions and failed to exercise their full ability in the class as nuclei of industrial proletariats.

On the other hand, the number of laborers in non-productive fields also increased supported by the rapid increase in productivity in productive fields. The number

of laborers in wholesale and retail trade, the largest part in the non-productive fields, increased from 2.5 million in 1955 to 6.3 million in 1970, 2.5 times as many, becoming the second biggest power next to those in manufacturing industries. This was attributed to the increase of products by mass production, the complication of interdependence of products due to the deepening social division of labor, the difficulty in realization of merchandise and forced sales through intensification of competition among enterprises. At the same time, this difficulty in realization and intensification of competition among enterprises are also one of the factors which contributed to the rapid increase of laborers, nine times as many, who are engaged in service businesses, mainly in advertisement, inquirement and information. When we see the state of the organized labor in wholesale and retail trade in Table 18, the number of union members tripled over the period from 1960 to 1970, but much of the increase in the membership was organized into Japan Confederation of Labor, mainly in big commercial capitals. The ratio of the organized members increased from 5.6% to 9% and yet actually the ratio is very low when compared with that of the productive fields.

In the non-productive fields, the increase in the number of laborers is striking in finance and insurance industries which contributed to high accumulation; real estate industries which swelled in regional development, re-development of cities and construction of housing; medical and other health services, sewage cleaning and social welfare, which were related to re-production of labor. On the other hand, the total number of laborers in public service increased considerably but the percentage persistently shows a downward trend.

2. Monopolistic Industrial Control and Laborers in Middle or Small Businesses

The high accumulation promoted not only the changes in industrial structure but also the accumulation and the concentration of capital within each industry. It helped the re-organization of middle or small businesses as well. Traditionally, in Japanese capitalism the weight of middle or small businesses is high and characteristically the difference between big businesses and middle or small businesses is striking. In the process of the high accumulation this characteristic still continues to exist. As is shown in Tables 3 and 4, big changes are not found in the breakdown of all the industrial laborers under industries of different sizes.

When we refer to the same tables, the breakdown under industries of different sizes indicates the following. Laborers who belong to big enterprises are found in mining industries, steel, chemical, and transportation machinery industries, and finance and insurance industries, while laborers who belong to middle or small size enterprises are concentrated in construction industries, foods, textile mill products and apparel, paper and pulp, publishing and printing, ceramic, metals and machinery industries, wholesale and retail trade, and highway transportation. In mining, textile, and construction industries among the above, the weight of laborers of mid-

Table 3. Composition of the Laboring Classes by Industry, by Size of Enterpises.
(In thousands of persons)

Year / Industry, Size	1962		1965		1968		1971	
	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)
Non-agricultural industries	23,740	100.0	26,484	100.0	30,197	100.0	33,360	100.0
1～ 29 persons	6,963	29.3	7,691	29.0	9,146	30.3	10,104	30.3
30～299	5,658	23.8	6,555	24.8	7,458	24.7	8,412	25.2
300～999	1,845	7.8	2,217	8.4	2,612	8.6	3,003	9.0
1,000 persons and over	5,660	23.8	6,124	23.1	7,104	23.5	7,715	23.1
Government service	3,504	14.8	3,757	14.2	3,831	12.7	4,092	12.3
Mining	463	100.0	350	100.0	285	100.0	198	100.0
1～ 29 persons	55	11.9	52	14.9	55	19.3	48	24.2
30～299	101	21.8	72	20.6	57	20.0	47	23.7
300～999	58	12.5	55	15.7	38	13.3	18	9.1
1,000 persons and over	244	52.7	169	48.3	134	47.0	85	42.9
Government service	2	0.4	1	0.3	0	0.0	1	0.5
Construction	1,929	100.0	2,156	100.0	2,768	100.0	3,114	100.0
1～ 29 persons	683	35.4	881	40.9	1,309	47.3	1,717	55.1
30～299	546	28.3	645	29.9	841	30.4	871	28.0
300～999	94	4.9	119	5.5	148	5.3	180	5.8
1,000 persons and over	209	10.8	187	8.7	293	10.6	311	10.0
Government service	378	19.6	300	13.9	270	9.8	27	0.9
Manufacturing	9,041	100.0	9,837	100.0	10,750	100.0	11,743	100.0
1～ 29 persons	2,224	24.6	2,386	24.3	2,694	25.1	2,910	24.8
30～299	2,896	32.0	3,118	31.7	3,335	31.0	3,571	30.4
300～999	1,125	12.4	1,265	12.9	1,372	12.8	1,495	12.7
1,000 persons and over	2,754	30.5	3,008	30.6	3,317	30.9	3,748	32.0
Government service	29	0.3	24	0.2	22	0.2	11	0.1
Wholesale and retail trade	3,636	100.0	4,324	100.0	5,271	100.0	6,068	100.0
1～ 29 persons	2,207	60.7	2,404	55.6	2,789	52.9	2,975	49.0
30～299	876	24.1	1,137	26.3	1,368	26.0	1,631	26.9
300～999	182	5.0	279	6.5	435	8.3	569	9.4
1,000 persons and over	347	9.5	474	11.0	668	12.7	872	14.4
Government service	4	0.1	6	0.1	5	0.1	17	0.3
Finance, Insurance and Real estate	927	1,000	1,095	100.0	1,209	100.0	1,331	100.0
1～ 29 persons	121	13.2	130	11.9	152	12.3	168	12.6
30～299	146	15.9	198	18.1	189	15.6	219	16.5
300～999	89	9.7	118	10.8	122	10.1	152	11.4
1,000 persons and over	541	59.0	610	55.7	721	59.6	766	57.6
Government service	25	2.7	28	2.6	24	2.0	24	1.8
Transportation and Communication	—	—	—	—	2,947	100.0	3,101	100.0
1～ 29 persons	—	—	—	—	313	10.6	386	12.4
30～299	—	—	—	—	619	21.0	714	23.0
300～999	—	—	—	—	248	8.4	267	8.6
1,000 persons and over	—	—	—	—	1,386	47.0	1,349	43.5
Government service	—	—	—	—	380	12.9	382	12.3

Source : Compiled from "the Employment Status Survey".

Table 4. Composition of Laboring Classes (Regular Employees) in main Manufactures by Size (Regular Employees) of Establishments.
(In thousands of persons)

Industry, Size \ Year	1960		1966		1972	
	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)
All manufactures	7,255	100.0	9,389	100.0	11,033	100.0
1～ 29 persons	2,178	30.0	2,657	28.3	3,017	27.3
30～299	2,744	37.8	3,615	38.5	4,176	37.9
300～999	1,097	15.1	1,453	15.5	1,796	16.3
1,000 persons and over	1,236	17.0	1,664	17.7	2,044	18.5
Foods and tobacco	615	100,0	842	100.0	874	100.0
1～ 29 persons	302	49.1	318	37.8	311	35.6
30～299	241	39.2	399	47.4	417	47.8
300～999	53	8.6	99	11.8	130	14.9
1,000 persons and over	20	3.3	26	3.1	16	1.8
Textile	1,131	100.0	1,143	100.0	975	100.0
1～ 29 persons	319	28.2	342	29.9	306	31.4
30～299	435	38.5	449	39.3	396	40.6
300～999	227	20.1	235	20.6	199	20.4
1,000 persons and over	150	13.3	117	10.2	74	7.6
Pulp and paper	240	100.0	304	100.0	306	100.0
1～ 29 persons	68	28.3	85	28.0	89	29.1
30～299	104	43.3	139	45.7	139	45.4
300～999	42	17.5	53	17.4	53	17.3
1,000 persons and over	26	10.8	28	9.2	24	7.8
Printing and publishing	303	100.0	409	100.0	477	100.0
1～ 29 persons	123	40.6	166	40.6	197	41.3
30～299	125	41.3	167	40.8	182	38.2
300～999	30	9.9	39	9.5	48	10.1
1,000 persons and over	25	8.3	38	9.3	50	10.5
Chemical	462	100.0	544	100.0	576	100.0
1～ 29 persons	47	10.2	48	8.8	46	8.0
30～299	144	31.2	176	32.4	195	33.9
300～999	105	22.7	137	25.2	169	29.3
1,000 persons and over	166	35.9	183	33.6	165	28.6
Glass, cement and clay	357	100.0	472	100.0	562	100.0
1～ 29 persons	106	29.7	138	29.2	172	30.6
30～299	157	44.0	218	46.2	260	46.3
300～999	69	19.3	80	16.9	80	14.2
1,000 persons and over	24	6.7	37	7.8	49	8.7

Iron and steel	367	100.0	455	100.0	511	100.0
1～ 29 persons	42	11.4	47	10.3	57	11.1
30～299	104	28.3	113	24.8	136	26.6
300～999	54	14.7	68	14.9	84	16.4
1,000 persons and over	167	45.5	227	49.9	234	45.8
Metal products	428	100.0	650	100.0	891	100.0
1～ 29 persons	184	43.0	275	42.3	384	43.1
30～299	202	47.2	300	46.2	378	42.4
300～999	39	9.1	66	10.2	102	11.5
1,000 persons and over	3	0.7	9	1.4	26	2.9
Ordinary machinery	649	100.0	880	100.0	1,078	100.0
1～ 29 persons	171	26.3	222	25.2	259	24.0
30～299	289	44.5	375	42.6	425	39.4
300～999	106	16.3	142	16.1	194	18.0
1,000 persons and over	83	12.8	141	16.0	200	18.6
Electrical machinery	617	100.0	900	100.0	1,329	100.0
1～ 29 persons	69	11.2	106	11.8	164	12.3
30～299	209	33.9	278	30.9	439	33.0
300～999	107	17.3	165	18.3	248	18.7
1,000 persons and over	232	37.6	351	39.0	478	36.0
Transportation equipment	489	100.0	688	100.0	972	100.0
1～ 29 persons	61	12.5	76	11.1	90	9.3
30～299	147	30.1	166	24.1	211	21.7
300～999	72	14.7	108	15.7	154	15.8
1,000 persons and over	209	42.7	338	49.1	516	53.1

Source: "Establishment Census of Japan".

dle or small size enterprises gained all the more through the period of high accumulation. This is because personnel reduction by scrapping or "rationalization" was pushed mainly in big enterprises of mining and textile industries. In construction industries it is because the expansion of demand invited the participation of middle or small enterprises, and because big enterprises make an extensive use of subcontract businesses.

The difference of labor conditions between big business laborers and middle or small business laborers is still great, as is shown in Table 5. Besides the bad conditions in wages and working hours, the rate of frequency of labor accidents in small businesses is about seven times as large as that in big businesses. In what is called "labor shortage" in the first half of 1960's, the difference in wages among industries of different sizes was said to be narrowing especially for young laborers, but as is seen in Table 6 the difference has increased since the end of 1960's and there is no sign that the difference is diminishing.

Table 5. Poor Working Conditions of Middle or Small Sized Enterprises (1973).

Item \ Size of Enterprises	1,000 persons and over	100~999 persons	10~99 persons	9~5 persons
Wages	100.0	84.4	73.6	67.4
Working hours	100.0	104.7	107.3	106,3
Two days off a week	100.0	58.7	34.4	—
Employees wishing to change jobs	100.0	116.3	124.5*	

Item \ Size of Enterprises	100.0 persons and over	300~499 persons	30~99 persons	*1~99 persons
Frequency of labor accident	100.0	284.3	695.1	

Note: Indices taken as 100 (%) for enterprises with the size of 1,000 employees and over.
Source: Statistics and Information Department, Ministers Secretariat, Ministry of Labor.

What is important is that most of these middle or small business laborers exceeding 18 million have not been organized into labor unions and left unpriviledged. As Table 18 shows, the ratio of organized members is 0.7% for the businesses of the size with less than 30 employees and 8% for the businesses of the size between 30 and 99. Of the 17 million unorganized laborers, 85% belong to middle or small businesses of the size with less than 300 employees. As to the breakdown under industry, unorganized laborers are more found in middle or small businesses of construction, wholesale and retail trade, metal and machinery fields. Chemical, transportation and communication industries have relatively more organized laborers in middle or small enterprises, but the level is still absolutely low. It is one of the biggest problems in labor union movement in Japan to organize middle or small business laborers.

3. Changes of Labor Processes and Internal Division of Labor in Monopolistic Enterprises

The changes in the internal structure of the laboring classes are created also by the changes in labor processes brought about by capitalistic technological innovations, within the enterprise and by the accompanying changes in the division of labor within factories as well as in the division of labor within the enterprise as an extension of the former.

Technological innovations were advanced mainly in heavy and chemical industries by mainly taking the following steps : introduction of larger sized equipments based on the adoption of automation, and mass assembly production in assembly line operation in the 1960's; and the introduction of computer control into all the processes in the 1970's. The changes in labor processes by technological innovations in monopolistic enterprises became a condition to advance both the re-organization of the labor structure within factories and the intensifications of labor and of labor management under new forms.

First of all, technological innovations make old skills useless. In steel rolling,

Table 6. Comparison of Wages of Different Sized Enterprises for Different Age Groups (For male production laborers for manufacturing industries, all educational backgrounds included).

Size of Enterprises, Year / Age	Year	1,000 persons and over	100~999 persons	10~99 persons	Size of Enterprises, Year / Age	Year	1,000 persons and over	100~999 persons	10~99 persons
	1961	100.0	101.2	110.7		1961	100.0	84.7	71.7
	1963	100.0	104.7	110.4		1963	100.0	91.4	83.3
	1965	100.0	102.1	109.2		1965	100.0	93.8	88.5
15~17 years of age	1967	100.0	98.3	104.6	30~34 years of age	1967	100.0	94.3	90.0
	1969	100.0	93.7	100.4		1969	100.0	92.4	87.7
	1971	100.0	93.5	94.6		1971	100.0	92.5	88.9
	1973	100.0	89.3	88.2		1973	100.0	96.5	84.1
	1961	100.0	93.8	93.8		1961	100.0	81.9	67.0
	1963	100.0	101.3	106.6		1963	100.0	83.5	69.6
	1965	100.0	100.5	106.3		1965	100.0	84.5	75.8
18~19	1967	100.0	96.6	100.4	35~39	1967	100.0	85.0	76.4
	1969	100.0	87.9	89.0		1969	100.0	87.0	78.7
	1971	100.0	90.6	89.7		1971	100.0	90.3	83.3
	1973	100.0	88.8	81.6		1973	100.0	92.1	80.0
	1961	100.0	97.6	95.2		1961	100.0	76.8	59.3
	1963	100.0	99.0	103.0		1963	100.0	77.1	65.7
	1965	100.0	100.8	108.5		1965	100.0	79.8	68.7
20~24	1967	100.0	97.1	103.2	40~49	1967	100.0	78.5	68.4
	1969	100.0	92.0	94.5		1969	100.0	78.8	68.5
	1971	100.0	92.1	93.7		1971	100.0	82.8	72.8
	1973	100.0	87.5	85.1		1973	100.0	84.9	66.4
	1961	100.0	94.2	87.2		1961	100.0	68.9	52.4
	1963	100.0	99.6	99.6		1963	100.0	71.4	55.9
	1965	100.0	101.6	102.9		1965	100.0	70.7	60.7
25~29	1967	100.0	99.5	100.0	50~59	1967	100.0	69.3	59.1
	1969	100.0	93.1	93.8		1969	100.0	69.3	60.7
	1971	100.0	94.1	94.1		1971	100.0	74.4	64.7
	1973	100.0	97.4	89.0		1973	100.0	76.6	59.7

Note: 1. Compiled from "the Wage Structure Survey".

2. Indices taken as 100 (%) for enterprises with the size of 1,000 employees and over.

3. Surveys in 1961, 1963 and 1965 used five classifications of enterprises sizes, i.e., over 1,000, 500~999, 100~499, 30~99 and 10~29; therefore, wages of each category were modified into above three categories by averaging them with the weight of the number of laborers.

4. The wages are "contract cash earnings".

for example, high-temperature heavy-muscle labor was replaced with machine operation and control labor by the introduction of hot strip mills, and then it was further transformed into instruments watching labor through computer control. In the course of the development, the training period of operation was diminished from 10 years to two years and then to several months. What replaced old skills is the new skills and monotonous labors in repair and in maintenance. For this monotonous labor, necessary knowledge and skill can be acquired in a short time but education and training are not guaranteed thereafter. Therefore, the labor can not become fully trained, leaving it semi-skilled. As a result of such changes in labor processes, labor structure in technical order which is closely related with the length of service from apprentices to skilled workers was destroyed. Consequently middle-aged or elderly laborers who received relatively high wages and were trained with old skills were "rejected", while young laborers who were adapted to new techniques and who received low wages were "absorbed" in great number. Thus, as is seen in Table 7, the number of young laborers who were engaged in main processes of big enterprises in heavy and chemical industries increased and there are two features. The first feature is that the condition for the unity as a class of young laborers has been

Table 7. Composition of Male Production Laborers by Age Groups for Different Enterprises Sizes (Manufacturing industries). (In thousands of persons)

Size of Enterprises, Age \ Year		1960			1965			1970		
		Persons	Ratio (%)		Persons	Ratio (%)		Persons	Ratio (%)	
Size of Enterprises 1,000 persons and over	Total	937	100.0		1,301	100.0		1,484	100.0	
	15~19 years of age	104	11.1		154	11.9		171	11.5	
	20~24	180	19.2	46.0	281	21.6	50.9	316	21.3	51.2
	25~29	148	15.7		226	17.4		272	18.4	
	30~34	149	15.8		170	13.0		217	14.6	
	35~39	113	12.1		159	12.2		161	10.9	
	40~49	183	19.5	54.0	213	16.4	49.1	237	15.9	48.8
	50 years and over	62	6.6		98	7.5		110	7.4	
10~99 persons	Total	1,127	100.0		1,428	100.0		1,259	100.0	
	15~19 years of age	274	24.3		229	16.0		112	8.9	
	20~24	232	20.6	60.8	267	18.7	50.5	192	15.3	39.6
	25~29	180	15.9		226	15.8		194	15.4	
	30~34	119	10.5		194	13.6		174	13.9	
	35~39	85	7.6		137	9.6		156	12.4	
	40~49	123	10.9	39.2	181	12.7	49.5	206	16.3	60.4
	50 years and over	115	10.2		195	13.6		224	17.8	

Source: Compiled from "the Wage Structure Survey".

strengthened, because there exist no difference in skills and no ranking in status among them and because they are relatively free from the enterprise-consciousness. The second feature is that the condition to mobilize young laborers has been strengthened because of such bad labor conditions as the decline of their will to work from repeated streotyped and monotonous labor, the aggravation of the intensity of labor and the accumulation of mental and physical fatigue.

Based on these changes of labor structure in production processes, both the division of labor within an enterprise and the job structure of the laboring classes have undergone changes. As is seen in Table 8, the number of technical laborers and of administrative and clerical workers increased significantly. The total number of those engaged in professional and technical workers became 2.4 times as many over the period between 1955 and 1970. This is because highly professional techniques were demanded in technological innovations and because engineers sections were made independent to form the staff with the introduction of the line and staff system. Also the number of those engaged in administrative jobs increased to 2.5 times as many, which is attributed to the facts that managing and administrative work was enlarged due to the expansion of an enterprise and to the advancement of the division of labor within an enterprise, and that work-site supervisory functions which used to be one of the functions of skilled workers under the traditional labor structure of seniority type became independent with the changes of labor structure in production processes. The total number of those engaged in clerical workers increased but the ratio remains the same. The augmentation of clerical labor corresponds to that of

Table 8. Composition of Manufacturing Industries Workers by Occupational Classification. (In thousands of persons)

Occupation / Year		Total	Professional and technical workers	Managers and officials	Clerical workers	Sales workers	Production process workers	Workers in transport	Service workers	Miscellaneous
Persons	1955	6,968	167	268	636	280	5,388	87	89	53
	1960	9,295 (33.4)	169 (1.8)	383 (42.9)	1,039 (11.2)	290 (3.6)	7,308 (35.6)	157 (80.5)	104 (16.9)	44 (△17.0)
	1965	11,507 (23.8)	218 (29.0)	466 (21.7)	1,428 (37,4)	323 (11.4)	8,681 (18.8)	207 (31.9)	154 (48.1)	25 (△43.2)
	1970	13,442 (16.8)	398 (82.6)	677 (45.3)	1,602 (12.2)	412 (27.6)	9,952 (14.6)	229 (10.6)	153 (△0.6)	19 (△24.0)
Ratio (%)	1955	100.0	2.4	3.9	9.1	4.0	77.3	1.3	1.3	0.8
	1960	100.0	1.8	4.1	11.2	3.1	78.6	1.7	1.1	0.5
	1965	100.0	1.9	4.1	12.4	2.8	75.4	1.3	1.3	0.2
	1970	100.0	3.0	5.0	11.9	3.1	74.0	1.7	1.1	0.1

Note: 1. Compiled from "the Population Census of Japan".
2. The numbers are those of employed persons and include directors and self-employed persons.
3. Numbers in parentheses show the growth rate in percent.

managing and administrative work, but the rate of increase has become relatively low under the "rationalization" by the introduction of computers into clerical fields.

In accordance with such changes in job structure within an enterprise, new relations have been created among various kinds of jobs. First, the former difference of status between the staff and the factory worker almost disappeared. As is shown in Table 9, the difference in wages and labor conditions between production laborers and clerical laborers diminished. Except for some administrative parts, clerical laborers are engaged in simple works of booking or computing and are rather turning to physical laborers after the introduction of computers or office equipments. Also technical laborers lost the administrative function they used to have and were deprived of their creativity: they have become to be engaged in divided labor without possessing overall view. On the other hand, administrative laborers have come to possess the aspects of commanding combined labor and of being an agent for executing capital functions. They have forced "rationalization" and the intensification of labor on laborers and played a role of controlling laborers at workshops, forming a new basis for the right wing tide in labor movement since 1960. The basis has become stronger quantitatively with the increase of the number of administrative laborers but nevertheless qualitatively the weakness has been underscored. It is because, firstly, the quantitative increase of administrative laborers meant in itself the lowering of their relative status within laborers. As is seen in Table 9, the difference in wages between administrative laborers and other laborers is actually diminishing. Secondly, the present administrative laborers are themselves subject to the control from their higher administrative personnel in competence since they lack skills or experiences which existed in the former system. They are not entitled to any powers and yet they have heavy responsibilities. In fact, they are forced to very poor labor conditions under the disguise that it is of their own accord.

The job structure in the division of labor within an enterprise above discussed can be summed up cross-wise under enterprise and industry and is shown in Table 10, Job Structure of Laborers.

Table 9. Comparison of Wages Production Workers and of Managing, Clerical and Technical Workers (Male workers in manufacturing industries for all sizes).

Age \ Year	1960	1965	1973
18~19 years of age	96	96	99
20~24	103	98	98
25~29	113	108	102
30~34	124	121	110
35~39	132	132	120
40~49	146	147	125
50~59	154	157	157

Note: 1. Compiled from "Wage Structure Survey".
2. Indices taken as 100 for wages of production workers.

Table 10. Composition of the Laboring Classes Employees by Occupational Classification.
(In thousands of persons)

Occupation of laborers (Workers) \ Year	Occupational classification symbols used in population census		Persons			Ratio (%)		
	1960, 1965	1970	1960	1965	1970	1960	1965	1970
A Productive laborers			12,671	14,667	16,472	57.4	54.4	52.7
1. Agriculture, forestry and fishery laborers			765	576	439	3.5	2.1	1.4
Agriculture and forestry	V(11)	E, F(20)	518	336	256	2.4	1.3	0.8
Fishery	V(12)	E, F(21)	248	241	183	1.1	0.8	0.6
2. Mining and quarrying laborers	VI(13)	G(22)	351	215	131	1.6	0.8	0.4
3. Production process laborers	VIII(18)～(32), (36)	I (27)…(42), (46)	6,423	7,534	8,859	29.1	27.9	23.3
4. Construction laborers	VIII(33), (34) (37)—243	I (43), (44) minus (43–227	1,526	1,847	2,140	6.9	6.8	6.7
5. Electrical laborers	VIII(35)	I (45)	254	400	463	1.2	1.5	1.5
6. Transportation laborers	VII(14)～(16) III(8)—47 VIII(27)—238～242, 244, 245	H(23)～(25) C(17)—58 I (47)—254～259 I (43)—227	2,065	2,664	2,782	9.4	9.9	8.8
7. Communication laborers	VII(17) III(8)—46	H(25) C(15)—55	287	363	367	1.3	1.3	1.2
8. Technical laborers	I (1)	A(2)	297	430	671	1.3	1.6	2.1
9. Other productive laborers	VIII(37)—246	I (47)—260	703	638	620	3.2	2.4	2.0
B Clerical, commercial and financial laborers			6,132	8,396	10,152	27.8	31.1	32.5
10. Clerical laborers	III(7) III(8)—48	C(15)—53, 54 C(17)—59～61	4,256	5,728	6,691	19.3	21.2	21.4
11. Sales laborers (Including canvassers and bill collectors)	IV(9), (10) III(8)—49	D(18), (19) C(16)	1,876	2,668	3,461	8.5	9.9	11.1
C Educational, medical and other professional laborers			1,485	1,815	2,217	6.7	6.7	7.1
12. Educational laborers	I (2) I (5)—34, 35	A(6) A(11)-42,43,44	844	984	1,135	3.8	3.6	3.6
13. Medical and health related laborers	I (3)	A(3) A(11)—41	383	482	645	1.7	1.8	2.1
14. Artist, authors, musicians and other entertainment laborers	I (4) I (5)-28,29,36 X(40)—261	A(1), (8)～(10)	134	200	291	0.6	0.7	0.9
15. Other professional laborers	I (5)-30,31,32 33, 37	A(4), (5), (7) A(11)—45	124	149	146	0.6	0.6	0.4
D Service laborers	X(39), (40) minus IX(40)–261	K(49), (50), (51)	1,627	1,904	2,171	7.4	7.1	6.9
E Protective service laborers	IX(38)—249～251	J (48)—263～265	161	181	225	0.7	0.7	0.7
Miscellaneous	XI(41)	L(52)	4	5	16	0.0	0.0	0.1
Total			22,080	26,968	31,253	100.0	100.0	100.0
(For reference) Self defence officers, policemen, etc.	IX(38)–247, 248	J (43)–261, 262	329	394	421	1.5	1.5	1.4

Note: 1. Compiled from "the Population Census of Japan".
2. The table was compiled as follows. Based on the table combinating categories of "occupation (miner groups)" and "employment status", (a) re-classify the occupational classification (miner groups) in groups which represent better occupational breakdown of the laboring classes, and (b) show the number of employees (excluding directors) for 1960 and 1965, and employees (including directors) for 1970, in employment status. (Note that materials for 1970 include directors due to the limitation of data.)
3. In the column of the symbols, for examples, "VIII (37) 238～242, 244, 245" represents classification (minor groups) 238 through 242 and 244 and 245 in the classification (medium groups) (37) in the classification (major groups) VIII.

II The Intensification of Regional Connection and Transportation-Communication Laborers

Through the socialization of production and labor in a large scale by the high accumulation, the role of transportation and communication laborers has become more important as a knotting point which connects regionally production, labor and living.

The high accumulation pushed forward the regional reorganization of social division of labor with an axis in concentrating production and labor into what is called the Pacific Belt region. As a result, the number of traffic and transportation laborers who support the transportation of products and the mobilization of labor increased rapidly. Traffic and transportation is made up of railways, i.e., the National Railway, private railways centering on gigantic capital, and street cars and subways run by public corporations, of automobile traffic and transportation, i.e., buses, taxies and trucks, and of marine and air transportation. As a result of the construction of highways and motorization, however, the weight of railways declined as is seen in Table 11, and automobile traffic and transportation expanded remarkably.

Table 11. Composition of Transportation Laborers. (In thousands of persons)

Sector \ Year	1960		1972	
	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)
Total	1,624	100.0	2,522	100.0
National railways	423	26.1	412	16.3
Publicly owned railways	30	1.9	20	0.8
Private railways	119	7.3	94	3.7
Railways, sub-total	572	35.3	526	20.9
Highway passenger (publicly owned)	36	2.2	48	1.9
Highway passenger (privately owned)	300	18.5	624	24.7
Highway freight	280	17.2	805	31.9
Highway transportation, sub-total	616	37.9	1,477	58.6
Water transportation	96	5.9	120	4.8
Air transportation	4	0.4	21	0.8
Warehousing	46	2.4	77	3.1
Services to incidental to transportation	290	17.9	301	11.9

Source: "the Establishment Census of Japan".

In addition to the significance of their social role, operators of traffic and transportation are requested to be highly skilled due to crammed schedules and traffic paralyses. Especially in railways, they are trained in being organized and disciplined in order to secure complicated operation schedules.

However, their labor conditions are very poor. Their labor is in itself a move-

ment in space and they are put in irregular working conditions because of long service hours and night service. Besides, they suffer from extreme fatigue and frequent accidents in traffic congestion. In the case of truck transportation and taxicab, most of them are of middle or small enterprises except the National Railway or private railway capitals which monopolize greater part of truck routes. Moreover, in truck transportation, sub-contracts of big truck-capitals and shippercapitals to middle or small enterprises are being activated. In the case of trucks and taxicabs, technological innovation has a limit and therefore "rationalization" was pushed intensively in labor control. Recently, besides the wage system on the commission basis, the various systems to hamper the unity of laborers as a class has become more prevalent.

The significance of the social role of traffic and transportation laborers and their severe labor conditions on the other hand have led to strong demands for better wages, for the improvement of labor conditions, for traffic safety and for the democratic reorganization of traffic and transportation systems. As is seen in the general strike of traffic laborers in spring offensives, the movement of traffic and transportation laborers has developed to bear an central role in the struggles of the laboring classes.

Communication laborers consist of mail, telegraph and telephone laborers and the number increased as the communication activities in the fields of production, circulation and finance are enlarged and put into more close contact.

As to the postal business, the increase of the volume of mails in 1960's brought about structural changes in mails. Mails concentrated into large cities and business communication increased not only in number but also in the ratios. The postal business requires intensive labor by nature and a considerable degree of skill was especially needed for in-office works of arrangement, selection, stamping and classifying. However, in the structural changes of mails and in the intensification of self-supporting accounting system as a part of "budgetary rationalization", "rationalization" has been rapidly introduced into the business since the end of the 1960's. The "rationalization" of the postal business has been carried out by introducing sub-contracts of shipping, by mechanization of collecting, distributing and in-office works, and by constructing a central control office, but these do not invite the substantial changes to the nature of intensive labor of the postal business. "Rationalization" was focussed on labor management and severe labor policies including unfair labor practices have been put into effect.

In the process of the high accumulation, the telegraph and telephone business has undergone a big change due to the rapid decrease of telegraphs, wider spread of telephones and the rapid expansion of data communication. Especially data communication, being a leading star of the "information society", covers as far as on-line systems of banks and inventory control of enterprises. Thus the number of laborers related to computers increased among telegraph and telephone laborers, and on the other hand dismissal and relocation were enforced to switchboard operators and telegraph laborers through mechanization and automation. As to the computer related

laborers, occupational diseases are aggravating among key punchers and labor intensification and mental fatigue have become more prevalent.

A striking feature of transportation and communication laborers is that most of them belong to the National Railways, the Postal Service, and the Telephone and Telegraph Public Corporation within the sector of the nation. They are paid low as public employees or public corporation employees but they are deprived of the right to strike. Especially after the 1960's, under the name of "productivity increase (Marusei)" intensive "rationalization" offensive has been enforced and the struggle against these has rapidly gained forces. Moreover, transportation and communication laborers are distributed throughout the country and they are closely related with production and living of the district. Also, they are organized laborers, whose number is limited in local areas. From these factors, they began to play a big role in local labor movements, concerted actions by residents and local political activities. The labor of transportation and communication laborers is by nature responsible not only for regional connections but also for uniting and organizing labor movements or democratic movements in various places.

III Increasing Power of Public Service Laborers and Educational Laborers in a Unified Front

Today, emphasised is the importance of organizing a unified front with the laboring classes as its center, and public service laborers and educational laborers are playing an extremely important role in unifying various classes and strata. It is because the daily labor of public service laborers and educational laborers is in itself connected with the living and the movements of various classes and strata of laborers, farmers and those self-employed in commerce and industry. It is also because, as in the case of transportation and communication laborers, they are distributed in all the local areas throughout the country and are able to play a role of organizer by the actions which make use of their specialized skills among various strata of the region.

The total number of national and local public service laborers increased from 1.78 million of 1958 to 3.47 million of 1972 and accounts for 10% of the total laborers. The first factor for the increase of the number of public service laborers is the enlargement of the state organizations with a view to strengthening the state monopolistic capitalism system to maintain political control mechanism of monopolistic capital and the government by improving the economic administrations to promote high accumulation and regional development. The second factor is the enlargement of administrative organizations and the increase of the volume of work due to the greater necessity for the social management and adjustment over production, living and environments of the people (residents) and to the greater demand for administration from residents to enrich public service of common consumption means of the society.

Before the war, public employees used to belong the bureaucratic organizations

in the emperor system and were of antagonistic nature to the working public. After the war, as the mechanism of the state monopolistic capitalism is strengthened, public employees serve the political and economical control of the monopolistic capital and the nation, and assume "bureaucratic and official" nature —the first aspect of their character— which is antagonistic to the public. On the other hand, at the same time, most of the public employees except for a small number of priviledged groups have become stabilized as lower class public servants and have come to assume more of the characters of laborers —the second aspect of their character—. The factors for this transfiguration are low wages, simple and stereotyped labor, and the change from being public servants doing farming as a side business to being purely waged laborers. Under the high accumulation, most of the laborers suffered from deteriorating labor conditions caused by the aggravation of the volume of work and personnel reduction and could not help but be closely concerned through the work of public-service with the poor living conditions of the people and environmental dilapidation. Under these conditions they have come to comquer the first aspect of their character and have assumed consciously more of the second aspect of their character, playing an important role as a part of the laboring classes through active cooperation with the people.

In Table 12, the internal structure of public employees shows a striking increase in the number of local public employees, while the number of the national employees is kept from increasing by means of personnel reduction. As is seen in Table 13, the structure of occupations of local government employees indicates that the big increase is in the fields directly related with the living of residents, i.e., nursery, cleaning and education. It is because the demand by local residents for administration was real-

Table 12. Composition of Public Service Laborers. (In thousand of persons)

Year / Occupation	1958		1972	
	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)
Total	1,781	100.0	3,470	100.0
National government employees	660	37.1	866	25.0
Administration	370	20.8	495	14.3
Tax, Public safety, maritime affairs and public proculators	84	4.7	90	2.6
Edcation, research and health	64	3.6	102	2.9
Postal service, forestry service and others	288	16.2	368	10.6
Local government employees	1,121	62.9	2,604	75.0
General personnel	885	49.7	1,621	46.7
Education	114	6.4	804	23.2
Police	121	6.8	179	5.2

Note: Regular employees only.

Source: Personnel Bureau, Office of the Prime Minister and Local Administration Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs.

Table 13. Composition of Local Government Employees (General personnel).

(In person)

Department \ Year	1968		1972		1972 (Nine major cities)	
	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)
Total	882,482	100.0	1,091,465	100.0	75,932	100.0
Congress	10,472	1.2	11,767	1.1	447	0.6
General affairs	194,975	22.1	224,545	20.6	18,874	24.9
Tax	83,928	9.5	85,025	7.8	7,500	9.9
Public welfare	120,576	13.7	166,846	15.3	11,079	14.6
Nursery school	45,243	5.1	73,931	6.8	3,964	5.2
Social welfare facilities	23,886	2.7	29,059	2.7	2,462	3.2
Sanitation	111,931	12.7	138,048	12.7	22,965	30.3
Scavengery	54,898	6.2	67,229	6.2	13,933	18.3
Health center	30,380	3.4	31,826	2.9	4,808	6.3
Labor	22,338	2.5	20,498	1.9	1,605	2.1
Vocational training center	4,879	0.6	5,175	0.5	—	—
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	121,182	13.7	123,626	11.3	1,009	1.3
Agricultural committees	10,610	1.2	9,716	0.9	246	0.3
Inprovement popularization stuff	16,112	1.8	15,553	1.4	—	—
Commerce and industry	20,786	2.4	23,331	2.1	1,689	2.2
Civil engineering	133,697	15.2	155,311	14.2	14,106	18.6
Education	62,495	7.1	80,770	7.4	3,342	4.4

Note: 1. Compiled from "the Survey on Wages of Local Government Employees".
2. Excluding fire station workers.

ized in local governments to some extent. Thus local government employees are directly connected to the living of the residents and the production, and have many opportunities to face social contradictions. Therefore, through the reconsideration of the content of labor, chances for developing new public labor movements are created. Already in many places, public employees have worked not only traditional labor movements but also in the improvement of the substances in the labor from the standpoint of the residents. At the same time, they are cooperating with local movements of the residents aiming at the formation of democratic local governments, and are trying to play a big role in organizing the regional unified front. Since public employees are employed by the national government or local governments and are deprived of the basic labor rights, their movements cannot help assuming political nature, and the construction of liberal local government and the realization of democratic national government have become in themselves prerequisites for the fundamental improvement of their labor conditions and labor content.

Educational laborers also gained the number in the greater demand by people for education and in the man-power policies of the government and the monopolistic capital. Through the educational labor movement, postwar educational laborers

placed themselves as a part of the laboring classes and have gradually defined their speciality and peculiarity of their being engaged in educational labor. What supported these consciousness of educational laborers was ; firstly, the poor living conditions of the people, including teachers, and their low wages thereafter; secondly, the postwar physical destruction of various educational conditions and the policy of low educational expense thereafter; and, thirdly, the penetration of the philosophy of the democratic education with the Constitution and the Fundamentals of Education Act as its center.

Educational labor is what concerned with mental and physical development of human being and with formation of character and is in itself placed in a bitter opposition between the demand for man-power by the monopolistic capital and the people's demand for education. Therefore, educational laborers can have the consciousness as the laboring classes only through the active cooperation with the people. Laborers especially concerned with elementary and middle education came to understand of themselves from this standpoint the importance of wider cooperation with parents and local residents, and have become the central carrier of local labor movements and other democratic movements.

IV Formation of Women Laborers in Great Quantities

The striking increase of women laborers from 7.11 million of 1960 to 10.65 million of 1970 is one of the big features in the structural changes of the laboring classes. The factor which promoted the formation of women laborers in great quantity was first of all the great demand, which accompanied the high accumulation for low wage labor as the material to be exploited. Also, poor living, swollen household expenses, and the improvement of social consciousness of women helped the employment of more family members, i.e., the employment of women. Secondly, the technological basis which facilitated the employment of women was the fact that the labor was more simplified and divided by introducing new machines and technology into production processes and office works of an enterprise.

The industries which have many women laborers are undergoing gradual changes together with the structural changes of industry discussed previously. According to Table 14, the ratio of women laborers was relatively high in textile, automobile passenger transportation and communication. By technological innovations and management "rationalization", however, the ratio declined as is seen, for example, in the transfer to chemical fiber, in the abolition of conductresses in one-man buses and of switchboard operators by automation. The fields of industry which gained women laborers remarkably was, first of all, electrical machinery (the ratio of women laborers was increased from 36.7% of 1960 to 43.8% of 1970), machinery and metals, wholesale businesses (from 23.6% to 29.1%), and finance and insurance (from 36.5% to 46.9%). In the field of machinery and metals, simplified labor made possible the absorption of a great number of unskilled young women and unexperienced middle-

Table 14. The Number and the Ratio of Women Employees in Each Industry.
(In thousands of persons)

Year / Industry	1955		1960		1965		1970	
	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)	Persons	Ratio (%)
Total employees (both sexes)	17,972	—	23,638	—	28,973	—	33,676	—
Total women employees	5,103	28.4	7,185	30.4	9,174	31.7	10,921	32.4
I Productive fields	2,339	22.0	3,443	24.3	4,173	24.6	4,702	24.7
(1) Agriculture, forestry and fishery	213	22.2	205	25.7	134	21.8	97	19.6
① Agriculture	166	39.6	145	53.3	74	47.4	53	43.8
② Forestry	28	11.4	36	14.7	32	16.3	27	16.6
③ Fishery	20	6.8	23	8.2	28	10.6	17	8.1
(2) Mining and manufacturing	1,889	24.6	2,924	26.6	3,632	27.3	4,173	27.7
① Mining	46	8.9	45	8.7	31	9.8	22	10.4
a Metal mining	9	12.5	9	11.1	6	11.1	5	11.9
b Coal mining	27	7.7	23	10.0	12	7.0	6	6.9
② Construction	111	8.6	276	12.9	360	12.9	360	11.8
③ Manufacturing	1,732	29.5	2,603	31.1	3,241	31.7	3,778	32.0
a Foods and tobacco	190	31.3	274	37.8	393	43.2	410	45.0
b Textile mill products	691	67.5	802	68.8	772	66.9	653	63.2
c Apparel	122	63.2	180	65.2	253	68.8	296	70.5
d Lumber and wood products	61	16.7	93	21.1	120	26.6	134	29.5
e Furniture	13	8.4	26	12.9	46	18.9	66	24.0
f Pulp and paper	52	29.5	83	31.8	101	32.5	102	32.0
g Publishing and printing	55	18.3	73	19.7	114	23.7	133	25.0
h Chemical	95	23.0	115	23.2	150	25.5	156	25.7
i Petroleum and coal products	6	17.6	7	17.5	7	16.3	8	14.8
j Rubber products	37	45.7	67	44.1	64	39.8	73	38.6
k Leather	10	17.5	16	25.0	26	31.0	29	37.2
l Stone, clay and glass	70	25.0	111	27.2	131	27.6	155	27.7
m Iron, steel and non-ferros	29	8.0	62	10.3	77	11.3	98	12.5
n Metal products	43	13.7	94	16.5	146	18.5	214	20.2
o Machinery and weapons	42	10.7	88	12.7	127	14.3	179	16.7
p Electrical machinery	75	24.9	247	36.5	335	37.1	598	43.8
q Transportation equipment	29	8.2	60	11.2	83	12.2	131	14.1
r Precision machine	26	25.2	52	30.8	80	36.4	103	38.9
s Miscellaneous	75	38.1	143	39.9	185	40.0	214	39.1
t Repair services	10	6.0	12	7.4	31	9.8	28	8.2
(3) Electricity, gas and water	22	9.6	20	8.6	25	9.4	33	11.5
① Electricity	16	8.8	14	8.7	15	8.9	20	11.5
② Gas			3	11.1	4	11.8	6	15.8
③ Water	5	10.2	4	8.7	5	7.8	7	9.2
(4) Transport and communication	216	12.5	294	13.7	383	13.7	399	12.7
① Transportation	105	8.0	163	9.8	233	10.5	253	10.0

a Railroads	40	6.2	23	3.9	22	3.6	19	3.2
b Highway passenger transportation	33	11.4	73	23.1	103	18.9	85	13.7
c Highway freight transportation			21	7.1	40	8.0	71	8.9
d Water transportation	6	6.5	9	6.9	12	7.9	15	8.6
e Air transportation	1	33.3	1	12.5	3	16.7	7	24.1
f Warehousing	3	13.6	5	13.5	10	16.4	12	19.4
g Services incidental to transport	22	8.4	30	10.4	42	13.2	44	17.5
② Communication	111	26.5	131	26.9	150	26.0	146	23.4
a Communication	108	26.9	125	27.7	143	26.7	137	23.7
b Broadcasting	3	16.7	6	17.6	7	17.1	9	18.8
II Non-productive fields	2,764	37.5	3,740	39.6	4,998	41.7	6,213	42.4
(1) Wholesale and retail trade	882	35.5	1,430	38.9	2,091	41.4	2,631	41.8
① Wholesale trade	220	20.2	395	23.6	674	27.0	794	29.1
② Retail trade	662	47.5	1,035	51.7	1,417	55.4	1,837	51.5
(2) Finance and insurance	184	33.2	247	36.5	444	48.0	502	46.9
(3) Real estate	7	25.9	15	28.3	36	29.3	53	29.8
(4) Business services	29	22.5	116	28.2	169	33.2	358	34.0
(5) Personal services (Labor maintenance)	580	60.5	803	68.3	777	64.5	767	62.6
① Personal services	572	75.7	676	73.1	640	69.3	619	67.7
② Amusement, recreation services	108	53.2	127	50.8	137	48.8	148	47.6
(6) Medical, other health services and social welfare	257	55.9	409	68.4	584	72.6	819	69.8
(7) Educational services, academic institute	364	37.4	409	37.1	524	38.4	610	40.0
(8) Judicial and other professional services	19	44.2	35	36.5	53	35.8	74	46.3
(9) Political associations	17	34.0	30	37.5	47	42.7	59	42.8
(10) Miscellaneous services	—	—	14	24.6	29	27.1	9	39.1
(11) Religion	29	22.1	25	22.7	25	26.6	20	29.9
(12) Government	225	16.5	193	14.5	243	16.4	333	19.4
① Central government	—	—	50	9.6	67	11.9	81	13.7
② Local government	—	—	143	17.8	177	19.2	252	22.3
(13) Foreign government	28	14.4	13	17.3	11	20.8	9	22.5
(14) Unclassifiable	0	0.0	2	25.0	3	30.0	6	37.5

Note: 1. Compiled from "the Population Census of Japan". Industrial classification is the same as Table 2.

2. The ratio of women employees is the ratio (%) of the number of women employed to the total number employed (both men and women) of each industry.

aged women, and in wholesale, finance and insurance, simplification of office works by the introduction of office instruments brought about the same phenomenon. However, women laborers did not gain the number in the industries with gigantic facilities like chemistry (especially in the primary processing of ethylene, etc.) and steel, because the main processes adopt the shift system including night labor.

Table 15 shows that the feature about the increase of women laborers is the increasing weight of middle or advanced-aged or married women. The traditional type of the employment of women under age groups showed the highest ratio between the age of 20 and 24, a big decrease of the ratio between the late twenty's and early thirty's of age due to marriage, housework and child care and again a rise of the ratio from the late thirty's over the forty's. This tendency still prevailed in the 1960's,

Table 15. Composition of Women Employees by Age and Marital Status.
(In thousands of persons)

Year / Age, Marital status	Persons			Ratio (%)		
	1960	1965	1970	1960	1965	1970
Total	7,109	9,199	10,921	100.0	100.0	100.0
15~19 years of age	1,796	1,786	1,446	25.3	19.4	13.2
20~29	2,864	3,558	4,359	40.3	38.7	39.9
30~39	1,167	1,627	1,897	16.4	17.7	17.4
40 years and over	1,282	2,228	3,218	18.0	24.2	29.5
Single	4,435	4,979	5,305	62.4	54.1	48.6
Married	1,779	3,154	4,384	25.0	34.3	40.1
Widowed and Divorced	894	1,066	1,229	12.6	11.6	11.3
Manufacturing industries	2,563	3,225	3,750	100.0	100.0	100.0
15~19 years of age	873	850	638	34.1	26.4	17.0
20~29	972	1,153	1,310	37.9	35.8	34.9
30~39	336	504	683	13.1	15.6	18.2
40 years and over	382	718	1,119	14.9	22.3	29.8
Single	1,720	1,818	1,719	67.1	56.4	45.8
Married	617	1,117	1,680	24.1	34.6	44.8
Widowed and Divorced	227	290	350	8.9	9.0	9.3
Wholesale and retail trade	1,413	2,109	2,631	100.0	100.0	100.0
15~19 years of age	358	401	350	25.3	19.0	13.3
20~29	658	976	1,260	46.6	46.3	47.9
30~39	198	319	419	14.0	15.1	15.9
40 years and over	199	413	601	14.1	19.6	22.8
Single	981	1,277	1,470	69.4	60.6	55.9
Married	274	621	880	19.4	29.4	33.4
Widowed and Divorced	158	211	280	11.2	10.0	10.6

Source: "the Population Census of Japan".

but the overall ratio of the employment of women increased, and the ratio was especially high for middle or advanced-aged or married women ("The Labor Force Survey"). Consequently, the percentage of married women in the total women employees was 40% in 1970 for all the industries and 45% in manufacturing industries.

Many of laborers who was formerly housewives are, however, placed under low wages and unstable labor conditions. Eighty percent of the women who used to be full-time houseworker and became laborers in 1971 worked in middle or small sized enterprises with less than 300 employees. Greater part of women employed by big enterprises were also part-timers. Wages and labor conditions are still bad even for young women. Although the difference in wages between male and female is a little diminishing over the 1960's, it still holds a little over 50% even in 1973 ("Monthly Survey of Labor Statistics"). The young age retirement system and the marriage retirement system are still kept practically. The ratio of the women who retired because of conception and childbirth among all the expecting women laborers was 30 and several % in 1950's but today it is nearly 50% ("Survey on Female Protection Practice"). In addition, occupational diseases like tendovaginisis are frequent. Maternity and health are being destroyed in the intensification of labor.

In such an expansion of women laborers, destruction of health and maternity as well as child care problems have become more serious. Demands for maternity protection, for prevantion of occupational disease, and for construction of nursery have become quite urgent among many working women, which created objective bases for the reinforcement of systematic regimentation of women and consciousness of their rights. The ratio of organized members among women laborers is approaching to that of male laborers year by year (the estimated ratio of organized members in 1972: male, 36.1%, female, 29.8%, "Basic Survey on Labor Unions") in spite of large number of part-times and middle or small sized enterprise employees. Also, a big flow of urban housewives and rural women into employment promoted daily contacts between "working women" and "house women", and gave a chance to experience systematicaly as laborers and to have consciousness of their rights penetrated into the living of women of wide strata thus creating a basis to support a new development of consumer movements and concerted actions by residents.

V Expansion of Relative Surplus Population by the State Monopolistic Capitalism and the Forms of the Surplus Population

In order to accomplish the high accumulation, relative surplus population in great quantities corresponding to the size of accumulation was a necessary condition, and the monopoly capital and the government urged the formation of this relative surplus population through the national policies termed" Labor Mobilization Policy" or "Active Labor Policies" beginning with "Employment Policy Act" enacted in 1966. The Labor Mobilization Policy was supported by (1) the proletarianization of farmers through the "improvement" policy of agricultural structure, (2) maintenance of low

wages of those employed by middle or small enterprises through the "modernization" policy of the middle or small enterprise, (3) utilization of house-wives as low-waged laborers without rights, and utilization of laborers in middle or advanced age and smooth mobilization of labor through the retrogressive revision of the Unemployment Relief Law and through the establishment of a "labor market center". In addition, the Active Labor Policy, which has been practiced since the latter half of the 1960's over the 1970's, aims at further proletarianization of farmers through industrial redistribution in rural areas and promotion of regional movement of labor, and at promotion of labor mobilization by breaking off permanent employment system and the wage system in service period. Besides these, it goes as far as to aim at securing labor in quality by developing labor capacity combined with the revision of the educational system, and by retraining middle or advanced age labor. This Labor Mobilization Policy and the Active Labor Policy, promoted smooth mobilization of laborers among enterprises, among industries and among regions. At the same time, it helped the formation and expansion of relative surplus population corresponding to the pace of the monopolistic high accumulation by widening the social limit in the number of low-waged laborers and it strengthened exploitation of the whole laboring classes.

The first group of the relative surplus population thus created consists of mobile young laborers who, dissatisfied with low wages and with unstable labor conditions, often change their jobs and also of relatively mobile women laborers who flow into the labor market in the form of part-timers with low wages and unstable labor conditions. In the description of Marx, they are the "mobile surplus population sometimes rejected and sometimes absorbed in great quantities by modern industries". Although the young laborers were absorbed in great quantities by monopolistic big enterprises through the high accumulation, they were forced to monotonous labor and labor intensification from technological innovations and from the "rationalization". Many of them, losing their will to work, were led to change their jobs. In 1971 twenty percent of junior-high or high school graduate laborers left their jobs within a year after graduation, and fifty percent left their jobs within three years. ("Situation of Employment, and Unemployment of New College Graduates".) As was explained previously, greater part of middle or advanced age women are employed in the form of part-timers, and they comprise a part of the mobile surplus population because they are so easily fired at the mercy of recession and the condition of management of an enterprise.

The second group consists of those employed by middle or small enterprises with middle or advanced age group as the center, of temporary employees and of day-laborers. They are the present-day form of the "stagnant surplus population characterized by irregular employment and by their living conditions below the average level of the laborers" (Marx). As already mentioned, those employed by middle or small enterprises are put under poor labor conditions. Among them young laborers still have chances to change their jobs taking a mobile form. On the other hand,

middle or advance age group are rejected in quantities by the monopoly capital, and become employees of middle or small enterprises, or temporary employees or day-laborers and stay in their place. Table 7 shows a rapid increase of the weight of middle or advanced age group in middle or small enterprises.

The third group is made up by unemployed women who seek employment, by members of farming houses who seek side jobs, and by some of those self-employed and their unpaid family workers who wait for the chance to become laborers. They are the potential surplus population who are "ready for proletarianization when the situations become suitable". As above mentioned, there came up the conditions for middle or advanced age women or married women to be easily "absorbed" by capital and, therefore, the number of unemployed women who seek employment increases year after year. Especially for the age group between 30 and 39, half of the women want employment; forty percent of the women with the income of their household heads earning one to two million yen a year also want employment ("Employment Status Survey, 1971").

In 1970 only 14.5 percent of farming families were engaged in full-time farming, and more than fifty percent were engaged in farming on the side ("Agriculture and Forestry Census"). This means that the greater part of the members of farming families have become gradually distinct from the potential surplus population in the process of the high accumulation and been called out in either mobile or stagnant forms. Among these farming family members, those in the middle or advanced age groups and women more frequently work in middle or small enterprises or in other provinces, or work as temporary employees or as day-laborers.

Some of those self-employed engaged in commerce and industry and their family workers are bordering on the laboring classes and are put in the mobile state by contant inflow and outlow. The outflow into the laboring classes from the lower strata of the self-employed engaged in commerce and industry is aggravating year after year. It may also be said that this group moved from the potential form to the mobile or stagnant form. Table 16 shows these inflow and outflow into the laboring classes.

Those engaged in home works amounted to 3.28 million in 1968 and those who seek home works to 3.14 million in the same year in number ("Basic Survey on Home Work Employment"). These people are "de facto laborers" and they can be placed by their nature as one of the forms of stagnant surplus population.

Various forms above described are put together and summed up in Table 17. This enournous relative surplus population which was produced in connection with various national policies maintained low wages and unstable and poor labor conditions of the laboring classes and played a role as a lever which made possible the high accumulation of the monopoly capital. On the other hand, the creation of the surplus population is, in itself, nothing but the creation of the social force in quantities which confronts the capital. Those who are incorporated into the laboring classes from various strata are trained in disciplines and organizations as laborers in the socialized laboring process. They stood up with demands for the establishment and

Table 16. Inflow into and Outflow from the Laboring Classes. (In thousands of persons)

Year / Inflow, Outflow	Persons				Ratio (%)			
	1962	1965	1968	1971	1962	1965	1968	1971
Total non-agricultural employees	23,740	26,484	30,197	33,652	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Total inflow	1,948	1,863	2,085	2,008	100.0 (8.2)	100.0 (7.0)	100.0 (6.9)	100.0 (6.0)
From agriculture, Self-employed workers	110	68	26	50	5.6	3.7	1.2	2.5
Non-agriculture, Self-employed workers	72	59	96	105	3.7	3.2	4.6	5.2
Household	251	251	367	418	12.9	13.5	17.6	20.8
Other persons without a job	319	227	198	207	16.4	12.2	9.5	10.3
Sub-total	751	604	686	780	38.6	32.4	32.9	38.8
From students	1,197	1,259	1,399	1,228	61.4	67.6	67.1	61.2
Total outflow	840	1,149	1,463	1,654	100.0 (3.5)	100.0 (4.3)	100.0 (4.8)	100.0 (4.9)
To agriculture, self-employed workers	45	51	59	42	5.4	4.4	4.0	2.5
Non-agriculture, self-employed workers	77	95	163	171	9.2	8.3	11.1	10.3
Sub-total	122	146	222	213	14.5	12.7	15.2	12.9
To persons without a job	718	1,003	1,241	1,441	85.5	87.3	84.8	87.1

Source: "the Employment Status Survey".

the improvement of the nation-wide minimum wages system and of the social security system, thus creating an objective condition to develop the unification of the laboring classes with other national strata.

Conclusion—the Formation of the Basis for the Class Unification of the Laboring Classes and Problems in the Organization

As is explained, the high accumulation of the monopoly capital in the 1960's brought about the rapid increase of the laboring classes. At the same time it also brought changes to the internal structure and the conditions. Through these changes, it is gradually but steadily ripening the objective basis for the unification as a class of the laboring classes, the opposite of the capital. It is firstly because more and more laborers are put under the exploitation of the gigantic and mechanized industries and because the majority of the people are being trained in the disciplines and organizations of the laboring classes. It is secondly because, as a result of the socialization of production in a large scale, individual laborers are no longer engaged in independent labor processes; their labor in itself makes indispensable the cooperation and unification with other laborers, as a part closely connected with the overall social labor. Moreover, not a small part of the laboring classes are mobilized among industries, among enterprises and among regions. These made laborers conscious of their common demands and objectives which transcended the difference in industry, in enterprise and in region. At the same time they could not but bring about the united

Table 17. An Estimation of Relative Surplus Population (Non-agricultural industries). (In ten thousands of persons)

Forms of unemployment		Year	1968	1971		1974	
			Persons	Persons	Change in %	Persons	Change in %
Population by employment status		Population 15 years old and over	7,655	7,942	(103.7)	8,282	(104.3)
		Persons with a job (total industries)	4,901	5,063	(103.3)	5,134	(101.4)
		Persons without a job	2,754	2,879	(104.5)	3,148	(109.3)
		Employees (non-agricultural industries)	3,020	3,336	(110.5)	3,562	(106.8)
Unemployed persons (actual)		1. Persons without a job, wishing to work (1) Seeking work	326	326	(100.0)	351	(107.7)
		On main job	102	103		110	
		On secondary jab	224	223		241	
		Male	80	80		77	
		Female	246	246		274	
Unemployed persons (potential)		(2) Not seeking work	476	538	(113.0)	571	(106.1)
		Male	190	78		69	
		Female	286	460		502	
Indices of unstable employment	Semi unemployed Partially unemployed	2. Unstable employment status (1) Temporary employees	142	152	(107.0)	186	(122.4)
		Male	65	61		71	
		Female	77	91		115	
		(2) Day laborers	59	83	(140.7)	84	(101.2)
		(4) Home handicraft workers	69	79	(114.5)	71	(89.9)
		3. Employees in short time work (1) 200 days and over per year, less than 35 hours per week	68	81	(119.1)	122	(150.6)
		(2) Less than 200 days per year	142	180	(126.8)	269	(149.4)
	Conciousness of unemployment	4. Employees by desire for work (1) Wishing to have additional jobs	87	110	(126.4)	149	(135.5)
		(2) Wishing to change a job	170	185	(108.8)	212	(114.6)
Total of unemployed and unstable-employed persons [1(1), (2)+2(3)+3(1), (2)]			1,081	1,204	(111.4)	1,384	(115.0)

Source : Compiled from "Employment Status Survey".

Table 18. Ratio of Organized Laborers in Each Industry

Employees, Union members / Industry	Total			1,000 persons and over			500~999 persons		
	Employees	Union member	Ratio (%)	Employees	Union member	Ratio (%)	Employees	Union member	Ratio (%)
A Agriculture	121,480	9,341	7.7	—	605	—	—	53	—
B Forestry	163,470	80,047	49.0	—	105	—	—	45	—
C Fishery	209,800	47,695	22.7	—	12,620	—	—	441	—
D~L Non agriculture-forestry	24,327,342	7,791,985	32.0	6,083,629	4,562,307	75.0	1,392,858	711,695	51.1
D Mining	239,881	136,024	56.7	137,878	93,362	67.7	9,837	12,338	
E Construction	2,632,434	472,053	17.9	313,252	122,613	39.1	115,092	22,042	19.2
F Manufacture	10,710,158	4,138,607	38.6	3,433,483	2,593,842	75.5	786,046	447,319	56.9
18, 19. Foods, tobacco	961,457	224,312	23.3	181,299	128,384	70.8	76,774	27,902	36.3
20. Textile	1,162,273	462,875	39.8	367,103	235,594	64.2	82,375	57,140	69.4
21. Apparel	375,781	59,918	15.9	19,461	14,037	72.1	21,513	8,784	40.8
22. Lumber and wood	450,488	58,014	12.9	18,978	10,586	55.8	19,787	6,598	33.3
23. Furniture	237,157	26,835	11.3	9,924	6,012	60.6	11,241	5,214	46.4
24. Pulp and paper	307,306	107,072	34.8	76,378	56,649	74.2	28,252	16,601	58.8
25. Publishment and printing	440,177	124,566	26.3	72,023	51,659	71.7	16,268	10,606	65.2
26. Chemical	544,640	393,890	72.3	297,083	272,473	91.7	65,021	44,359	68.2
27. Petroleum and coal products	56,397	28,385	50.3	35,389	20,403	57.7	5,334	2,243	42.1
28. Rubber	198,535	100,350	50.5	94,674	74,124	78.3	17,482	11,923	68.2
29. Leather	70,154	9,087	13.0	4,156	4,790	91.2	2,702	1,814	67.1
30. Glass cement and clay	528,288	179,976	34.1	123,260	93,609	73.0	41,272	20,443	49.5
31. Iron and steel	530,211	327,956	61.9	337,295	272,296	80.7	27,361	18,263	66.7
32. Non-ferrous metal	171,350	117,313	68.5	78,121	81,061	—	16,712	11,125	68.8
33. Metal products	767,491	150,498	19.6	66,946	41,243	61.6	53,057	29,369	55.4
34, 38. Machinery and weapons	984,258	392,482	39.9	247,391	196,658	80.3	95,620	55,602	58.1
35. Electrical machinery	1,319,329	604,539	45.8	730,221	476,832	65.3	89,576	44,377	49.5
36. Transportation equipment	874,368	588,521	67.3	524,929	461,355	87.9	64,692	49,068	75.8
37. Precision machine	237,091	110,501	46.6	80,395	65,958	82.0	21,811	17,480	80.1
39. Other manufacture	493,408	71,643	14.5	63,463	29,119	45.9	29,196	8,406	28.8
G Wholesale and retail trade	5,322,031	526,354	9.9	410,829	293,158	71.4	235,995	60,460	25.6
H Finance and insurance	980,052	754,554	77.0	880,102	669,728	76.1	43,109	32,943	76.4
I Real estate	147,639	10,157	6.9	19,817	5,085	25.7	3,386	633	18.7
J Transport and communication	1,648,641	1,080,785	65.6	628,411	495,485	78.8	126,561	86,915	68.7
K Electricity, Gas and Water	246,028	167,867	68.2	172,493	158,606	91.9	3,620	2,963	81.9
L Services	2,400,478	505,585	21.1	87,358	130,423	—	69,212	46,083	66.6

Source: "the Population Census of Japan" and "the Survey of Labor Unions and Federations". Taken from "Statisticed Indiacators of Japanese Economy, VI, Condi-

of Different Sizes (1969, Private industries). (In person)

300～499			100～299			30～99			Under 20 persons		
Employees	Union member	Ratio (%)	Employees	Union member	Ratio (%)	Employees	Union member	Ratio (%)	Employees	Union member	Ratio (%)
—	—	—	—	693	—	—	438	—	—	75	—
—	48	—	—	164	—	—	282	—	—	193	—
—	37	—	—	1,451	—	—	995	—	—	16	—
1,160,393	514,126	44.3	3,071,616	837,730	28.9	3,947,605	401,756	10.2	8,684,049	65,793	0.7
10,426	6,140	58.9	16,351	8,838	54.1	25,220	3,431	13.6	40,169	739	1.8
95,188	10,210	10.7	311,468	11,653	3.7	536,243	6,757	1.2	1,216,191	1,021	0.1
606,279	310,294	51.2	1,487,620	485,942	32.7	1,756,709	188,362	10.7	2,640,021	24,594	0.9
53,115	20,013	37.7	142,676	29,571	20.7	174,119	13,146	7.6	333,474	1,965	0.6
62,837	40,557	64.5	153,601	67,411	43.9	191,819	29,141	15.2	304,538	4,231	1.4
20,083	8,444	42.0	72,260	17,173	23.8	95,608	7,033	7.4	146,851	737	0.5
15,118	7,927	52.4	48,177	13,933	28.9	98,102	11,177	11.4	241,310	3,620	1.5
13,738	4,384	31.9	32,308	6,581	20.4	52,817	2,971	5.6	117,129	435	0.4
17,529	8,274	47.2	49,846	17,717	35.5	58,527	5,897	10.1	76,774	525	0.7
23,164	15,100	65.2	66,974	25,541	38.1	95,367	15,111	15.8	166,321	2,628	1.6
41,772	25,508	61.1	66,711	34,178	51.2	43,053	10,255	23.8	30,980	1,040	3.4
2,789	1,029	36.9	5,573	1,948	35.0	4,270	728	17.0	3,042	75	2.5
13,528	6,752	49.9	16,802	5,466	32.5	25,551	1,712	6.7	30,498	123	0.4
2,823	1,350	47.8	8,052	1,021	12.7	16,350	601	3.7	36,071	68	0.2
31,867	18,612	58.4	91,297	26,185	28.7	105,167	11,328	10.8	130,425	1,617	1.2
18,554	11,624	62.6	49,891	18,285	36.6	49,938	6,696	13.4	47,172	604	1.3
10,577	9,723	91.9	22,638	12,214	54.0	20,958	2,567	12.2	22,344	204	0.9
41,885	21,731	51.9	123,470	35,171	28.5	180,658	15,818	8.8	301,481	1,396	0.5
76,297	37,258	48.8	172,854	68,483	39.6	179,861	25,189	14.0	212,294	2,731	1.3
78,110	27,251	34.9	162,415	38,913	24.0	134,924	10,021	7.4	124,083	574	0.5
36,943	25,221	68.3	86,119	37,021	43.0	78,447	10,363	13.2	83,238	1,087	1.3
15,917	9,215	57.9	36,388	14,125	38.8	37,436	3,277	8.8	45,144	423	0.9
29,616	10,321	34.8	79,580	14,965	18.8	103,288	5,331	5.2	189,185	511	0.3
238,011	63,675	26.8	595,200	75,569	12.7	872,641	23,530	2.7	2,969,355	4,067	1.4
11,526	15,370	—	15,983	23,588	—	9,012	10,950	—	20,320	1,025	5.0
10,908	312	2.9	20,367	2,717	12.9	22,850	1,178	5.2	70,311	232	0.3
114,359	60,772	53.1	301,605	146,350	46.5	251,273	69,555	27.7	226,432	12,708	5.6
1,805	1,161	64.3	4,032	2,741	68.0	3,024	1,455	48.1	1,274	318	25.0
77,891	46,192	59.3	245,408	130,332	53.1	420,633	96,538	23.0	1,499,976	20,089	1.3

tions of the Laboring Classes under High Accumulation", by Tōkei-shihyō Kenkyukai, "Keizai", October, 1973.

Table 19-1. Number of Union Members of Each Industries (Non agriculture-forestry) in Major Organizations (1972).
(In hundreds of persons)

Industry \ Ratio of organized laborers, etc.	Employees	Union members	Ratio of organized laborers	Number of union members in major organizations				
				Sōhyō	Dōmei	Shin-sanbetsu	Chūritsu-rōren	Others
All industries	357,688	117,720	32.9	42,474 (36.1)	22,130 (18.8)	723	13,725	40,434
D Mining	1,727	869	50.3	476 (54.8)	138 (15.9)	1	26	229
E Construction	34,213	6,247	18.3	1,364 (21.8)	302 (4.8)	42	2,113	2,512
F Manufacturing	117,743	44,571	37.9	7,994 (17.9)	13,242 (29.7)	610	7,662	15,617
18. 19. Foods, tobacco	10,640	2,727	25.6	371 (13.6)	491 (18.0)	2	875	1,029
20. Textile	10,379	4,029	38.8	157 (3.9)	3,542 (87.9)	—	—	330
21. Apparel	4,645	762	16.4	29 (3.8)	569 (74.7)	—	—	164
22. Lumber and wood	4,611	572	12.4	123 (21.5)	188 (32.9)	—	5	256
23. Furniture	2,871	308	10.7	37 (12.0)	66 (21.4)	3	2	199
24. Pulp and paper	3,238	1,109	34.2	451 (40.7)	200 (18.0)	—	—	457
25. Publishment and printing	5,057	1,416	28.0	642 (45.3)	171 (12.1)	—	—	616
26. Chemical	5,939	4,161	70.1	1,164 (28.6)	1,238 (29.8)	90	68	1,733
27. Petroleum and coal products	595	316	53.1	5 (1.6)	27 (8.5)	—	171	112
28. Rubber	1,982	1,007	50.8	288 (28.6)	181 (18.0)	1	—	554
29. Leather	772	80	10.4	1 (1.3)	14 (17.5)	—	—	65
30. Glass, cement and clay	6,014	1,804	30.0	218 (12.1)	311 (17.2)	27	607	732
31. Iron and steel	5,221	3,438	65.8	1,933 (56.2)	338 (9.8)	10	42	1,116
32. Non-ferrous metal	2,185	1,235	56.5	173 (14.0)	126 (10.2)	16	434	573
33. Metal products	9,506	1,705	17.9	394 (23.1)	510 (29.9)	16	18	793
34. Machinery	11,149	4,250	38.1	1,057 (24.9)	1,146 (27.0)	295	113	1,639
35. Electrical machinery	14,022	6,872	49.0	359 (5.2)	415 (6.0)	26	4,784	1,289
36. Transportation equipment	10,083	6,656	66.0	164 (2.5)	3,200 (48.1)	61	349	3,017
37. Precision machine	2,822	1,308	46.4	322 (24.6)	384 (29.4)	62	39	508
38. Weapons	17	9	52.9	— (—)	6 (66.7)	—	—	3
39. Other manufactures	5,995	809	13.5	106 (13.1)	118 (14.6)	1	154	431
G Wholesale and retail trade	75,827	6,844	9.0	596 (8.7)	1,451 (21.2)	3	299	4,546
H Finance and insurance	13,647	8,472	62.1	241 (2.8)	70 (0.8)	—	2,990	5,197

I	Real estate	2,199	133	6.0	42 (31.6)	6 (4.5)	—	—	122
J	Transport and communication	29,978	20,267	67.6	11,883 (58.6)	4,593 (22.7)	60	115	4,498
K	Electricity, gas and water	2,754	2,160	78.4	510 (23.6)	1,354 (62.7)	—	200	114
L	Services	61,493	15,067	24.5	8,652 (57.4)	598 (4.0)	6	215	5,696
	Medical and other health services	9,121	1,647	18.1	1,058 (64.2)	76 (4.6)	1	4	517
	Educational service	15,414	7,511	48.7	6,002 (79.9)	83 (1.1)	—	—	1,453
	Other services	36,958	5,901	16.0	1,592 (27.0)	439 (7.4)	5	211	3,726
M	Government	15,483	11,385	73.5	9,977 (87.6)	176 (1.5)	—	—	1,244

Note: 1. Compiled from "the Establishment Census", "the Population Census" and "the Survey of Labor Unions and Federations".
2. The number of employees is the sum of "regular employees" and "temporary and daily employees" in "the Establishment Census". Employees in Government in 1960 is, however, taken from "the Population Census".
3. The number of union members is that of "unit labor unions" in "the Survey of Labor Unions".
4. Sohyō is "General Council of Trade Unions of Japan". Dōmei (Zenro) is "Japan Confederation of Labor". Shinsanbetsu is "the National Federation of Industrial Organizations". Chūritsurōren is "Federation of Independent Unions of Japan".

Table 19-2. Number of Union Members of Each Industry in Major Organizations (1960).
(In hundreds of persons)

Industry \ Ratio of organized laborers, etc.	Employees	Union members	Ratio of organized laborers	Number of union members in major organizations				
				Sōhyō	Zenrō	Shinsanbetsu	Other national unions	Others
All industries	—	75,163	—	37,067 (49.3)	9,217 (12.3)	414	11,890	17,919
D Mining	4,931	3,425	69.5	2,156 (62.9)	518 (15.1)	3	57	690
E Construction	16,385	4,777	29.2	2,560 (53.6)	39 (0.8)	81	1,131	982
F Manufacturing	78,509	25,437	32.4	6,328 (24.9)	6,286 (24.7)	314	4,051	8,608
18. 19. Foods, tobacco	7,755	1,321	17.0	339 (25.7)	165 (12.5)	2	98	720
20. Textile	11,667	4,552	39.0	45 (1.0)	3,281 (72.1)	—	279	947
21. Apparel	2,508	221	8.8	11 (5.0)	112 (50.7)	—	8	90
22. Lumber and wood	3,994	417	10.4	42 (10.1)	25 (6.0)	—	4	346
23. Furniture	2,233	106	4.7	13 (12.3)	4 (3.8)	—	4	85
24. Pulp and paper	2,541	821	32.3	548 (66.7)	29 (3.5)	3	—	245
25. Publishment and printing	3,253	1,008	31.0	609 (60.4)	28 (2.8)	—	44	333

	26. Chemical	4,993	2,902	58.1	1,101 (37.9)	793 (27.3)	60	64	921
	27. Petroleum and coal products	4,038	187	4.6	11 (5.9)	1 (0.5)	—	144	31
	28. Rubber	1,540	664	43.1	343 (51.7)	29 (4.4)	—	—	291
	29. Leather	502	70	13.9	10 (14.3)	6 (8.6)	—	—	54
	30. Glass, cement and clay	3,892	1,209	31.1	121 (10.0)	132 (10.9)	1	405	603
	31. Iron and steel	3,919	2,151	54.9	1,447 (67.3)	135 (6.3)	17	7	545
	32. Non-ferrous metal	1,414	761	53.8	240 (31.5)	45 (5.9)	15	209	252
	33. Metal products	4,290	697	16.2	198 (28.4)	116 (16.6)	7	3	374
	34. Machinery	6,937	2,043	29.5	561 (27.5)	336 (16.4)	132	66	948
	35. Electrical machinery	6,611	2,531	38.3	201 (7.9)	78 (3.1)	22	1,790	456
	36. Transportation equipment	5,340	2,806	52.5	161 (5.7)	868 (30.9)	16	887	903
	37. Precision machine	1,674	643	38.4	257 (40.0)	83 (12.9)	39	11	251
	38. Weapons	17	6	35.3	— (—)	— (—)	—	—	6
	39. Other manufactures	3,367	321	9.5	70 (21.8)	18 (5.6)	1	28	205
G	Wholesale and retail trade	36,144	2,033	5.6	155 (7.6)	135 (6.6)	1	471	1,272
H	Finance and insurance	7,340	3,846	52.4	237 (6.2)	10 (0.3)	—	2,728	891
I	Real estate	486	99	20.4	9 (9.1)	— (—)	—	1	91
J	Transport and communication	20,889	14,568	69.7	10,628 (73.0)	1,218 (8.4)	6	954	1,764
K	Electricity, gas and water	2,101	1,856	88.3	331 (17.8)	847 (45.6)	1	1,356	134
L	Services	32,035	10,031	31.3	7,323 (73.0)	157 (1.6)	8	1,095	1,789
	Medical and other health services	4,885	1,070	21.9	588 (55.0)	10 (0.9)	—	476	329
	Educational service	10,683	7,034	65.8	5,980 (85.0)	1 (—)	—	474	584
	Other services	16,467	1,927	11.7	775 (39.2)	146 (7.6)	8	145	876
M	Government	13,318	7,584	57.0	6,552 (86.4)	— (—)	—	2	1,029

Note (continued) : 5. The numbers in parentheses in "Sōhyō", "Dōmei" and "Zenrō" are the ratio (%) taking the total number of union members as 100.0.

6. Broadcasting is included in communication in 1960 (23,700 employees), and in services in 1972 (43,700 employees and 24,500 union members), due to the change in "Industrial Classification".

movements. Thirdly, the old status system was destroyed within an enterprise, and the difference between the staff and the factory worker, between the youth and the middle or advanced age group diminished, making labor conditions more and more equal. This tendency shows the birth of an objective basis for the unity of production laborers with technical or clerical laborers and of young laborers with middle or advanced age group. Forthly, the laboring classes have practically assumed the responsibility for the greater part of administration and organization of the social production and consumption. Thus, by the consciousness of laborers of their social nature and by their cooperation with other national strata, they are forming the basis to realize the democratic control of the monopoly capital and to assume the responsibility for democratic improvement and control of the national economy based on the benefits of the working public.

The basis for such a unification as a class may become a factor to hamper unification, when the active effort of laborers is weak. First of all, the inflow of various petite bourgeoisie strata into the laboring classes brings about the inflow of the petite bourgeoisie consciousness. This petite bourgeoisie consciousness is sometimes taken advantage of under the control of the right-wing labor movement, and is sometimes directed into the extreme left. The conquest of this consciousness is an especially important subject of the present age. Secondly, the monopoly capital, with surplus profit has created the labor aristocracy centering on the strata of the administrative laborers of big enterprises of rapidly enlarged industrial fields and has intended to direct the labor movement rightward and to strengthen the course of the cooperation of the capital with the labor.

Japanese labor unions are organized under respective enterprises and the amalgamation of the labor unions practically tends to be the amalgamation of labor unions of big enterprises. Most of the middle or small enterprise laborers, temporary employees or day-laborers are left unorganized (Table 18). Even if they are organized, many of them actually have failed to play an active role fully in the labor movements. In many of the labor unions of monopolistic enterprises, the administrative strata seize the actual control under the right-wing offensive of the capital. More often than not the so-called large local unions of private enterprises either belong to Japan Confederation of Labor or form the right-wing tide within General Council of Trade Unions of Japan and Federation of Independent Union Congress (Table 19).

The organizational problem of activating the objective basis for the unification now being formed and of removing the factors which hamper this basis is, first of all, to organize the great number of middle or small enterprise laborers in order to draw out the power as a laboring class from this stratum and to advance the unified struggle through the cooperation between them and big enterprise laborers within an industry. Secondly, especially in the labor unions of big enterprises, it is necessary to form independent and democratic unions and to develop the struggle through the firm unification at the workshop based on the various demands of the laborers who are different in age, in sex or in occupation.

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